

MALAWI

**POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING AND
VOTER EDUCATION**

NATIONAL ELECTION, MAY 1994



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USAID PROJECT FINAL REPORT

POLITICAL PARTY TRAINING, VOTER EDUCATION AND NGO SUPPORT IN MALAWI

USAID Grant No. 612-0243-G-3007-00
September 30, 1993, to September 30, 1994



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INTRODUCTION

Malawi, a small central African country bordered by Zambia and Mozambique, held its first democratic elections on May 17, 1994. A result of over two years of negotiations and incremental progress toward democratization, the elections marked the first change in the control of government in over 30 years. Using their vote as their voice, the Malawian people sent a strong message about their desire to participate actively in their government.

Out of eight officially registered parties, three garnered the majority of the votes. President H. Kamuzu Banda came in second in the presidential race, pulling 33 percent of the vote. Banda's party, the Malawi Congress Party, also came in second in the number of seats gained in parliament, with 55. All but four were from the central region of the country. Chakufwa Chihana, the presidential candidate for the Alliance for Democracy, gained almost 19 percent of the vote. His party won 36 seats in the parliament, all but three in the northern region. The election was won on both the presidential and parliamentary levels by the United Democratic Front. Current President Bakili Muluzi gathered just over 47 percent of the votes and his party won 85 seats in the parliament, most in the southern region of the country.

Throughout the election process, there was great enthusiasm for democracy among the Malawian people. Most patiently endured a slow lifting of authoritarian practices, and many eagerly registered and voted twice to bring about change. Over 80 percent of the eligible population registered to vote, and of those registered again over 80 percent turned out on election day. The official results also show that Malawians knew how to vote, posting only a two percent spoiled ballot rate. The Malawian people's embrace of democratic principles led to a remarkable peace and calm throughout the entire election process.

BACKGROUND

For nearly 30 years after gaining its independence in 1964, Malawi was led by the authoritarian regime of President H. Kamuzu Banda and his Malawi Congress Party (MCP). During this time, Banda and the MCP subjected the citizens of Malawi to a repressive one-party



system that suffocated all dissent and freely organized associations. The ruling party routinely pointed to Malawi's relative stability to justify its poor human rights record and strict limits on civil rights.

Nevertheless, political opposition to the government by dissidents in exile continued over the years. In March 1992, Malawi's Roman Catholic Bishops issued an open letter calling for fundamental change and denouncing the government's abuses. The letter's release precipitated demonstrations and calls for multiparty democracy. This unrest, accompanied by the international donor community's withdrawal of all but humanitarian aid to Malawi, caused President Banda in October 1992 to announce a national referendum on one-party versus multiparty rule.

In support of this process, NDI Senior Associate for Electoral Processes Larry Garber traveled to Malawi in March 1993 for preliminary discussions with the Secretary of the Referendum Commission, government representatives, civic and pressure group leaders and members of the international donor community. Based on these consultations, NDI developed and implemented a plan to train domestic monitors for the referendum. The NDI program included a six-week field presence and regional workshops for both MCP and pressure group poll watchers. Each workshop sought to provide the interested parties with the capability to monitor the referendum effectively, to identify potential problems and to encourage the groups to remain active after the referendum period in order to promote long-term democratic development. During this same period, NDI also sponsored the trip of the chair of the leading pressure group in Malawi to observe elections in Paraguay.

On June 14, 1993, the citizens of Malawi voted by more than a two-to-one margin in favor of instituting multiparty democracy. Following the referendum results, the MCP parliament repealed constitutional clauses declaring the country a one-party state and legalized all political parties. The government also agreed to form a National Consultative Council (NCC) and a National Executive Council (NEC), both comprised of representatives from all parties, to propose legislative reforms and plan for multiparty elections. Once formed, the NCC called for multiparty presidential and parliamentary elections to be held on May 17, 1994.

Building on the referendum experience, NDI Assistant Counsel for Electoral Processes Michael Stoddard visited Malawi in July 1993 and met with representatives from the U.S. embassy, the USAID mission and civic groups to discuss the political environment and the prospects for future NDI programs to support Malawi's transition to multiparty democracy. Subsequently, NDI developed a proposal focusing on work with political parties to prepare them for electoral competition, in addition to continued work with NGOs involved in voter education and election monitoring.

PLANS AND OBJECTIVES FOR NDI'S MALAWI ELECTION PROGRAM

NDI's program called for the Institute to provide Malawi's existing and emerging political parties extended consultation services, technical assistance and training to equip them with the knowledge and skills necessary to compete and participate effectively in the May 1994 multiparty elections. The program design allowed for NDI field staff to work in concert with indigenous civic organizations where appropriate. Specific plans, objectives and activities were outlined to achieve these goals.

NDI proposed to conduct training and consultations for parties on the following topics: building a grassroots organization; conducting voter education activities; identifying and communicating issues of concern to the electorate; recognizing and adhering to a code of conduct; encouraging and mobilizing voter participation in elections; understanding the electoral law and administration of the election; and planning for the responsibilities of political parties and NGOs on election day. This training would be carried out through a series of national and regional conferences and individualized training sessions.

At the national and regional all-party conferences, a team of international experts would address a variety of critical institutional, political and administrative questions associated with the role of political parties and NGOs in a multiparty democracy.

The objectives of NDI's program were outlined in the proposal to USAID, and included: 1) strengthen the political parties as institutions in a multiparty democracy; 2) enable the parties to conduct organizational activities to promote participation and political choice for the citizenry of Malawi; 3) provide a framework by which political parties would be able to engage in a voter education program; 4) inform voters of the distinctions among the parties and what they stood for; 5) enable the parties to monitor the voting and counting of ballots on election day, thus enhancing their capacity to build public confidence in the electoral process; and 6) strengthen the ability of indigenous/Malawian NGOs to participate in the election process through monitoring and civic education efforts. These objectives would serve as a basis for evaluating program activities.

PROGRAM DESIGN AND ACTIVITIES

In designing the program, the in-country staff followed two guiding principles: strive to develop activities which focus on imparting practical skills in the Malawi context, and maintain a flexible programming philosophy to respond to a rapidly changing political situation. All of the team's political party activities were formulated with the goal of increasing the competitiveness of each party contesting the May 17 elections. Sessions on communicating with and contacting voters were typical of the type of training offered. In every activity, the team adjusted the training, as much as possible, to account for the financial limitations of the parties, as well as cultural barriers to western election techniques.

Because of the cooperative relationship among all organizations conducting election-related activities, the NDI team provided expertise to the overall election effort whenever possible and appropriate. The flexibility exhibited by NDI-Malawi prompted the United Nations Electoral Assistance Secretariat (UNEAS) to rely upon the team to respond quickly to several special requests and to enhance some of its existing education programs. Likewise, when the international community expressed concern over voter education activities, USAID/Malawi requested that NDI-Malawi develop additional voter education activities. Thus, by focusing on practical skills and by maintaining a flexible programming schedule, the team developed project activities which ensured that all work was appropriate and effective for both the upcoming election and for Malawi as a whole. A summary of each of these activities is presented in approximate chronological order.

All-Party Conference

NDI-Malawi launched its political party training program in January 1994 with a two-day all-party conference for selected national and regional leadership of Malawi's political parties. Entitled "Developing a Plan of Action for the Election," the conference focused on providing advice and assistance to the parties as they began preparing for the May 17 elections.

To assist with the training effort, a five-member team of international political experts was recruited to travel to Malawi for the conference. The international faculty comprised two political consultants from the United States, Ed Brown and Nancy Clack; a trainer from *Project Vote* in South Africa, Robert Mopp; a SWAPO field organizer from Namibia, Hishoono Kanana; and a member of parliament and youth wing chair of the ruling party in Botswana, James Mothibamele. NDI-Malawi staff members Kate Head and Traci Cook also served as trainers. The faculty and staff conducted plenary and workshop sessions on various components of an effective election plan, including: party organization and management; identifying and using resources; voter education techniques; message development and communication; contacting and persuading voters; and targeting.

This conference marked the first time that a large number of representatives from all parties had been gathered together in the same room. The resulting tension was obvious at the outset of the conference. Perhaps sensing the dynamic, both Ed Brown and Michael Meadowcroft, director of the UNEAS, began the first plenary session on the electoral law with careful explanation of tolerance as a cornerstone of democracy. Brown also stressed the importance of running campaigns based on current and future issues, not running on past party performance. He explained that the cardinal rule of politics is "not what you did for me yesterday, but what are you going to do for me today."

Nancy Clack led a discussion urging party members not to be overconfident in estimating the numbers of their supporters. She cautioned the parties: "When you count your votes, count them again." James Mothibamele followed on Clack's advice with his own admonitions about organization and targeting. Relating his experience in Botswana, Mothibamele talked about how the Botswana Democratic Party devised a comprehensive

door-to-door campaign and how the smaller parties campaigned despite a lack of resources. He also spoke about the success of the smaller parties in Botswana in working together to divide up the seats which they would contest. The parties appeared to understand his point, and he was applauded when he warned that, "In trying to get 100 percent of the parliamentary seats, you will get nothing."

The workshop format allowed the parties a degree of comfort in discussing sensitive matters and increased the level of trust with NDI-Malawi staff. Each of the trainers led hour-long workshops focusing on the components of an effective election plan. An optional workshop for female party representatives was hosted by USAID/Malawi. Many participants felt that, following the workshops, their party had made real progress toward organizing for the election; and, in the case of the women's workshop, a resolution outlining an action agenda for women's issues was agreed upon across party lines.

NDI also held pre-conference consultations with the four smaller parties and post-conference consultations with the three larger parties. The pre-conference consultations served as a useful tool in acquainting the international faculty with the problems facing the opposition parties and in updating the team on the current political situation. The post-conference consultations afforded both the faculty and staff an opportunity to conduct a more in-depth assessment of the abilities and needs of each of the three parties for future programming.

Over 150 party members attended the conference, and the response to the program was extremely favorable. Although parties had some prior understanding of how NDI-Malawi could be of assistance, the conference provided concrete examples. The discussions about planning and organization triggered a realization among participants that these were areas which had been neglected for too long. As a result, participants expressed a new openness and receptiveness to additional training, and there were many calls for further assistance. For the NDI-Malawi team, the conference pointed out in more detail what the most critical needs were and where to target the remainder of program activities. Perhaps the greatest success of the conference was the promotion of tolerance among the parties. The party representatives seemed to be truly amazed that they could interact with each other without any major incidents. As one Malawi Congress Party member said, "It's a miracle that we were together for two days without a fist fight."

Regional Party Conferences

The agenda for the regional party conferences emanated from the national all-party conference. The need for local party staff training was apparent during the two days NDI spent with a cross-section of the parties' leadership. A lack of experience at the lower levels of the party structures and a lack of direction from the upper party echelons had left many district and local party leaders wondering where to begin. Therefore, NDI's intended audience at the regional party conferences was the leadership of local parties and the topics on the agenda were aimed at providing some structure and direction for local party election activities.

The day-long regional conferences began with each NDI-Malawi staff member taking the lead on one or more agenda items. The agenda was based on knowledge of the local parties and was geared toward preparing the parties for the official campaign period which was to begin one week later on March 15. It was clear at the national conference that there was little understanding of the role of local party affiliates within the national party structure. Voter contact and campaign strategy were alien concepts to local party leaders. To help alleviate this problem, the regional conferences focused on several fundamental areas of election planning including: the role of political parties in a democracy; voter education; party organization; election planning; and voter contact. In addition, a portion of the program was devoted to an explanation of the Malawi election law, which was followed by a question-and-answer period with an Electoral Commissioner.

The entire conference was conducted in a classroom or "talking head" style, without break-out or workshop sessions. NDI trainers understood the limitations of this format, but opted to train larger numbers of party members, even though it meant losing some of the close interaction the workshops provided during the national conference. To offset any negative effects, the team employed interactive techniques and incorporated question-and-answer periods after most sessions. Two of the sessions drew the greatest response: the role of political parties in a democracy, and the explanation of the election law. The list of party rules (don't buy votes; don't intimidate; accept the results) prompted a very productive half-hour discussion among the parties on respect for opponents. In the election law session, the participants took full advantage of an hour with an Electoral Commissioner to ask questions about Commission decisions and to learn about important Commission regulations and deadlines which would affect local parties.

Over 490 party members attended the three regional workshops. The party representatives were receptive to the conference material, and many urged the staff to organize further training sessions. The local and district party members from all parties were hungry for information. The discussion on the election law, in particular, pointed to a serious lack of communication between the national party structures and their local affiliates. The NDI-Malawi staff anticipated this deficiency to some degree and had prepared for distribution a team-developed synopsis of the election law; i.e., a "rights and responsibilities" document regarding voter registration and a copy of the Commission's Code of Conduct for political parties. All were translated into Tumbuka and Chichewa. In addition, participants received a set of *Project Vote* training materials, an eight-page voter contact guide and copies of Uneven Paths, a book on elections in southern Africa.

As a result of the experience at the regional conferences, NDI placed added emphasis on keeping the parties informed about election-related requirements at the regional as well as the national level.



Radio Training, Production and Policy

In early March, the Electoral Commission granted each of the political parties free access time on the state-owned radio station for the eight weeks leading up to the election. There were 40 free-access spots a day (five per party) in the first four weeks and 48 free access spots a day in the second four weeks. At this frequency, the radio program was a major factor in a party's ability to communicate its message to the public. Given the likelihood that most of Malawi's political parties had little or no experience with professionally produced advertisements, NDI-Malawi embarked upon an extensive program to train and assist political parties in this area.

To provide additional expertise, NDI recruited Chris Kepferle, a media expert with Greer, Margolis, Mitchell and Burns in Washington, D.C., to come to Malawi to serve as the primary resource person for a radio production training workshop. The session focused on the practical aspects of producing appealing radio advertisements and included the following topics: understanding the Commission's radio program, defining a party message for radio, targeting voters through radio, using various formats and creative options, scripting, timing and rehearsing, and producing and editing radio. Kepferle took the lead on most subjects, with the assistance of NDI-Malawi staff members Kate Head and Traci Cook.

Kepferle's talk began by providing the framework for producing persuasive radio advertisements and by explaining the critical differences between radio and public speaking. He then played a tape of eight radio spots produced for American campaigns. The advertisements served as examples of differing formats and approaches to radio. This section of the program provoked an animated discussion on the use of music, sound effects and other devices to capture an audience's attention. It was clear that the use of the tapes inspired creative ideas among the participants. Each participant was asked to write a one minute radio spot focusing on increasing voter registration. No other single part of the program illustrated as vividly the complexities of radio advertisements. Many party representatives struggled to make their spots interesting and to stay within the allotted time. The importance of preparation and practice was stressed.

Tim Neale, a British Broadcasting Corporation veteran and advisor to the Electoral Commission, and Charles Joyah, chair of the Commission's Subcommittee on Media, also participated in the workshop. Neale had played a major part in the Commission's drafting of the radio guidelines for the election and so was invited to brief the party agents on their rights and responsibilities. Particularly useful was his careful explanation of the Commission's decisions on the free access, production and rotation of radio spots for political parties. In an open question-and-answer period, Commissioner Joyah defended the Commission's decisions and fielded inquiries regarding violations of the Code of Conduct on the radio. His answers to specific questions about comparative radio advertisements helped the participants mold their first spots. Twenty participants from seven parties attended the workshop, only two of which had previous radio experience. Each participant received a Media Relations Guide, a copy of the tape of American advertisements, sample radio scripts, a book on public speaking, a blank three-month calendar to use in developing a radio plan, and a stopwatch to assist in timing spots.

At the conclusion of the radio training workshop, Kepferle was available to assist parties in scripting their first spot and was present at the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation studios the next day to assist with production. Because Kepferle's work in the studio was so well-received, NDI-Malawi was asked by both the parties and the Electoral Commission to continue to assist with production, and at least one NDI staff member was present at all tapings until two weeks before the election. The team provided both the needed technical expertise and a neutral presence to ensure equal access to production time, facilities and personnel.

Throughout the election period, NDI-Malawi staff member Kate Head served as an informal advisor to the Electoral Commission's Subcommittee on Media. By invitation from the Commission, Head attended several subcommittee meetings and contributed to the discussion on free access time, debate formats and overall radio policy. During the debate on the amount of access time allotted to parties, Head prepared a memorandum describing what would be an optimum amount of time for parties to communicate their message and provided a copy of Media in Transitional Democracies, by Pat Merloe (NDI Senior Associate for Electoral Processes) as a guide for the Commissioners. The final decision of the Commission reflected much of Head's work and resulted in unprecedented free access time for parties. Head was also instrumental in encouraging the Commission to devote more radio time to presidential debates, candidate interviews and 24-hour coverage of the counting of election results.

Press Relations Workshop

Because a free press is a relatively new phenomenon in Malawi, most political parties had a very limited understanding of the relationship between parties and the press. This reality and on-the-ground experience made it clear to the NDI-Malawi team that most of the political parties, even the larger ones, would benefit from a training session focusing on press relations. Responding to this need, Chris Kepferle and NDI-Malawi staff members Kate Head and Traci Cook conducted a five-hour workshop on working with the press.

The workshop was designed to aid the parties in their day-to-day contact with, and use of, the press. The session included discussion of the following: developing a relationship with the press, defining the party's message, writing press releases, knowing and meeting press deadlines, recognizing what is newsworthy, holding press conferences and preparing for debates and interviews. Presentation of these topics generated a lengthy discussion among participants over political parties and the independent press. Many party representatives expressed frustration at what they perceived as bias in the press toward certain parties, but were equally interested in how to improve their coverage by the approximately 20 newspapers and the state-owned radio station.

In the interactive portion of the workshop, Kepferle conducted mock interviews and asked likely debate questions of party participants. The vivid demonstration of potential pitfalls for candidates produced a lively exchange among participants which focused them on finding solutions such as drafting talking points for standard questions and rehearsing presidential candidates and spokespeople. The workshop closed with a presentation by Mollund Nkata,

Director of News at the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC) on the practices and policies of radio news coverage, and a tour of MBC studios. Twenty-two participants from seven political parties -- all publicity secretaries or vice presidents for press relations -- attended the workshop. NDI-Malawi gave each participant a book on public speaking and the media, and a comprehensive guide on press relations.

Focus Groups

Political parties, civic education groups and even the international donor community had little information about the real concerns or fears of the average Malawian voter. At USAID/Malawi's suggestion, the NDI-Malawi team conducted a series of focus group discussions from March 28 to April 6. Because this activity was outside the scope of the original grant, USAID amended and extended the grant and provided additional funding. The objectives of the study were: to gauge the awareness of the rural population of the upcoming elections; to assess the extent of their knowledge about voting procedures and the political parties; and to identify hopes and expectations they held for democratic governance. NDI's Mark Mullen led this project activity with the assistance of Administrative Assistant Jean Maguru.

The project was a collaboration between the NDI-Malawi team; Naomi Mpemba, a Malawian consultant with previous focus group experience; and Greg Gay, a professional focus group moderator from Washington, D.C. Mpemba's past experience was an invaluable guide to the NDI-Malawi team. She recommended a team of competent and talented trilingual moderators whose professionalism and insight contributed greatly to the success of the research. Given the lack of telephone communication in the rural areas and the traditional structure of village life, there was virtually no way to pre-select participants. The decision was therefore made to carefully select villages throughout Malawi to provide proportionate samples from each of the country's three regions and a fair representation of a variety of tribal groups. The team of researchers and NDI-Malawi staff traveled together by truck visiting selected villages throughout the two-week period.

Based on Mpemba's recommendation, the research team conducted separate group discussions for men and for women, with corresponding male or female moderators, to ensure maximum participation by women. At each selected village, the research team met with the village chief or head man and then assembled a group of 10 men or women above age 18. Two focus groups were conducted in villages in each of the following districts: in the Northern Region, Mzimba; in the Central Region, Dedza and Mchinji; and in the Southern Region, Zomba, Chikwawa and Mulanje. In addition, one group each was held in the following two semi-urban areas: the Central Region village of Mtandire, outside of Lilongwe; and the Southern Region village of Chensomba, outside of Blantyre.

The focus group project revealed a number of important themes that were common to the electorate throughout Malawi. It was clear that voters were enthusiastic about the opportunity to participate in Malawi's first-ever democratic elections, although they had little

understanding of the voting process. At the time of the focus groups (six weeks before the election), a surprisingly high percentage of voters were still undecided, particularly women. The majority of voters cited direct personal contact as the most persuasive means of communication in determining their vote. In fact, a recurring theme among voters was the desire for frequent contact with their Member of Parliament. Focus group participants expressed the need for vast improvements in their lives, but nevertheless cast a critical eye on politicians' promises and were highly skeptical of those that seemed unrealistic. There were also several other noteworthy findings: women faced some obstacles to becoming informed voters, in part because radios are the possession of men; many voters associated the increase in crime with the multiparty era; and radio was a powerful means of educating the electorate, especially men.

Once compiled, the findings of the country-wide focus group discussions were disseminated to as wide an audience as possible. The first priority of the NDI-Malawi team was to ensure that each political party received a briefing on both information specific to the party and on general findings which would assist the party in appealing to voters. Particular emphasis was given to informing the parties on the status of their efforts in educating voters on their party's symbol and message; to instructing the parties that voters were distrustful of false or misleading promises; and to encouraging all parties to increase their direct personal contact with undecided voters. The team then conducted a series of briefings for USAID and Embassy personnel, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and United Nations Electoral Assistance Secretariat (UNEAS) personnel, and the senior international donor group. The meeting with UNEAS staff was aimed at refining voter education efforts, and the NDI-Malawi team also used the focus group findings to develop its own voter education materials.

Election Observation Missions to South Africa

As part of the political education effort, NDI-Malawi sponsored trips for members of political parties and the Electoral Commission to observe various aspects of the election process in South Africa. The trips were coordinated by the South Africa Elections Studies Program through the NDI-Johannesburg office.

From March 12 to 18, Clement Chilungulo, a member of Malawi's Electoral Commission and Chair of the Subcommittee on Violence, and Kwacha Kondowe, Chief Elections Officer for the Commission, participated in a study group focusing on security arrangements for a first-time democratic election. At the time, both Chilungulo and Kondowe were involved in investigating complaints of violence and intimidation and in planning security measures for the Malawi elections. The one-week program included meetings with members of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), an Advocate from the Goldstone Commission, the Deputy Director of the Transitional Executive Council, the South Africa Police Union and political parties.

In a debriefing, Commissioner Chilungulo told NDI-Malawi that the trip was extremely useful in helping him understand the Malawi context. While there were obvious differences between the security situations in South Africa and Malawi, he indicated that he felt better equipped to manage Malawi's security issues, particularly the investigation of violence and

intimidation complaints. Severe health problems prevented a similar debriefing session with Kondowe.

For the second trip, NDI-Malawi invited one member from each of the eight political parties to observe the final preparations for the poll and the three days of voting in South Africa. Because a primary goal of the trip was to educate party representatives on the interaction between party agents and poll workers, parties were asked to choose delegates who would take an active part in training monitors upon their return to Malawi. Only the Malawi Congress Party chose not to send a representative. NDI-Malawi staff members Kate Head and Mark Mullen accompanied the party delegates.

The Malawi delegation was briefed on the political situation and the election law in Johannesburg by the IEC and the NDI-South Africa staff for the first two days of the trip. The delegation was then deployed to the Boputhaswana cities of Mafikeng and Mmbatho two days before the first polling day. There they met with political party representatives, IEC local staff, army representatives and a national monitoring group, NEON. They also observed a rural rally where Winnie Mandela was the speaker. Especially useful to the Malawi delegation were the discussions with the political parties which focused on campaign techniques, message development and party monitor training.

On the special voting day, the Malawi team divided into pairs and observed the election at a senior center, a hospital and a prison. They were then rotated throughout the day to different locations to get an understanding of a cross section of polling locations and atmospheres. The long lines, lack of voting materials, and initial confusion of the election staff were all observed by the delegation and created legitimate concern in the group about the administrative preparations for the Malawi election. The following day the delegation was deployed to a combination of urban, suburban and rural polling stations. Each delegate was given the IEC form for monitoring as well as the NDI- Malawi Monitoring Form developed for use in the Malawi elections two weeks later.

Each Malawi delegate took a great interest in the inner workings of his station. Unlike other delegations who wanted to travel to many stations, the Malawians were determined to see the station from opening to close on the two days of voting. Although they were there to observe, members of the delegation were able to spend a lot of time talking with the election staff and other observers about the process and about problems encountered by party agents. In some situations they asked questions about topics being debated in Malawi, such as the right of the police and army to vote.

Upon return to Malawi, the group briefed the press, reported their findings to their respective parties, and jointly compiled a list of recommendations for future Malawi elections. Two such recommendations included: to prevent crowd control difficulties, the designation of a special voting day (similar to South Africa's) for elderly and disabled citizens and women with children; and the use of registration cards or national identification cards to prevent duplicate voting.

Regional Election Monitoring Conferences

Malawi's election law gave party monitoring agents wide-ranging rights on election day. Monitors could watch and challenge all aspects of the preparation and conduct of the poll and of the counting process. In addition, poll workers were instructed to consult party agents on all important decisions, thus magnifying the importance of well-trained monitors. From May 3 through May 10 NDI-Malawi staff conducted a series of regional training workshops structured to educate party members on critical aspects of the election day process. The workshops were conducted on a regional basis to expand the total number of party members trained and to ensure that adequate information on election procedures reached the district and local level.

Over 530 party agents attended the NDI election monitoring workshops in Mzuzu, Blantyre and Lilongwe. Many were later charged with the responsibility of training other monitors within their parties. Each session began with a general discussion of monitoring. Describing his experience in Zambia, NDI-Malawi staff member Adrian Muunga underlined the importance of monitoring, stressing the parties' ability to prevent fraud and rigging on election day. He also discussed the role of a party monitor in understanding the process to ensure pro-active participation. Team member Mark Mullen continued the discussion on fraud by citing specific examples and methods of prevention. The open question period which followed showed that the presentation on fraud and the use of monitoring to prevent it had clearly resonated with participants, many of whom tried to stump the staff with rigging scenarios. Often, before the staff could respond, an answer on why the scenario would not work would come from other participants. The resulting increase in the confidence of party members concerning the ability of the Malawi electoral process to detect and prevent fraud was noticeable.

With party agents eager to learn more about the voting process, the program moved to preparing monitors for "real-life" situations on election day. NDI-Malawi staff members conducted a four-hour, in-depth mock voting and counting exercise designed to illustrate potential problems. Because few, if any, party members present had read the election law, the scenario also served to educate the participants on the steps required for voting and the counting of ballots. The NDI-Malawi staff enlisted participants to serve as poll workers, party monitors, ushers and voters during the exercise. Many of the voters were quietly instructed to pose a problem for workers and monitors. Among the problems presented were: a voter with a 1993 registration certificate, a voter with a previously inked finger, campaign materials in the booth, discarded ballots outside the bin, poll workers tearing ballots incorrectly, poll workers explaining the voting process in a partisan way, and disallowance of ballots during the counting process. The audience repeatedly joined in the exercise by cheering or booing monitors based on their performance in detecting fraud or mistakes. After witnessing many missteps by the party monitors, numerous participants vowed to make sure their party monitors were trained and ready for May 17.



For use on election day and in the workshops, the NDI-Malawi staff developed an election monitoring form. The form was comprised of monitor instructions ("bring a pen and food to the polling center"), a checklist of things to watch during voting and counting ("ballot boxes are empty and locked before voting begins"), a space to record details of complaints, a grid to keep track of the number of people voting, and a form for counting ballots and recording results. NDI-Malawi printed 40,000 copies of the form in Chichewa and 10,000 in English. Most of the 50,000 were distributed to party members during the regional conferences, although by special request several church and NGO groups received limited amounts. NDI-Malawi staff members who observed election day activities noted that over 90 percent of party monitors at polling stations were using the form. A random check with United Nations and U.S. embassy observers produced a similar result.

All political parties, never represented by fewer than 15 delegates, participated in each regional conference. All parties received a large number of NDI election monitoring forms in Chichewa and English; sample ballots, boxes and envelopes for mock voting exercises; numerous Electoral Commission posters on the voting process; Commission posters distinguishing ballot boxes and discard bins; poll worker manuals; multiparty literature; and the NDI Zambia election report. Throughout the conferences, NDI-Malawi staff members used the program to stress to participants the importance of training other party agents and suggested the mock voting exercise as the best training tool. These materials were provided to give each party trainer the ability to recreate the voting scenario as close as possible to the actual procedure on election day.

Other Party Activities

In addition to organized activities such as seminars and workshops, the NDI-Malawi staff maintained regular contact with and served as a ready resource for all political parties. The team responded to frequent requests from parties for trouble-shooting on a variety of issues. For example, both the Malawi Democratic Party (MDP) and the Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) asked for assistance in formulating a strategy to respond to the other opposition parties' unity slate; the Congress for the Second Republic and the Malawi Democratic Union both asked the team for advice during their respective logo crises; and United Democratic Front (UDF) asked to be guided through potential responses to a documented case of election fraud. On these and other numerous day-to-day problems, the team provided daily support, advice and guidance.

The team also conducted on-going consultations with parties on campaign techniques. Following on the work of the national conference, the team met individually with parties to reinforce financial, organizational, and communication skills. Using a one-on-one format, NDI-Malawi staff aided the Malawi National Democratic Party on maintaining a consistent message; counseled the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) on fundraising from business interests; discussed funding alternatives with United Front for Multi-Party Democracy; assisted MDP and

AFORD in developing a concise and appealing message for party literature; and worked with all parties to improve their efforts at communicating with voters. Because of the work with voter education and radio production, the team often advised the parties individually on those matters.

For two of the three larger parties, the team held half-day leadership training sessions for selected staff. After having previously consulted with party leaders about agenda items, NDI-Malawi provided specialized training for appropriate party staff. The MCP requested topics including targeting, candidate recruitment, message development and polling, and the UDF suggested areas including organizing rallies, message development and targeting. AFORD chose not to participate.

Earlier work pointed to serious communication problems between the Electoral Commission and the parties, largely because there was no common forum where information or ideas could be exchanged. Whenever possible, the team worked to provide an avenue for interaction between the two groups by compiling and disseminating election-related information to parties. The team either developed or reprinted several important election documents: a synopsis of the election law, the Code of Conduct for parties during the campaign, the Code of Conduct for registration monitors, the Code of Conduct for party agents on election day, a guide to the candidate nomination process and a compilation of materials on preventing election fraud. The team also made every effort to keep the parties informed of election deadlines.

Perhaps the most popular and effective means of keeping the parties informed was the team's effort to include Electoral Commissioners in all training sessions. Often participant's evaluation forms would reflect their appreciation at having been given a chance to voice their concerns directly to the Commission. Likewise, the recurring questions concerning violence and intimidation heightened the Commissioners' awareness of such problems and helped to convince them to take another look at those issues.

Coordination Activities

Coordination with other NGOs and the UNEAS was a high priority for the NDI-Malawi team. NDI worked with the Association of Western European Parliamentarians for Africa (AWEPA) several times to ensure that there was no duplication of effort in either organization's political party programs. When it was discovered that both of our organizations were conducting election monitoring workshops for party agents, NDI drew up a list of 10 districts which were the most competitive and which were the least likely to be covered by the NDI training sessions. The AWEPA representative agreed to limit his work to those districts.

In addition, the team worked on a daily basis with the International Federation of Electoral Systems (IFES) and the UNEAS, conveying the concerns of the parties and providing additional expertise to those who were more closely involved in the administration of the election. NDI was often asked to comment on drafts of training manuals for election officials and on guidelines for election procedures. The UNEAS also agreed to fund two joint projects

with NDI: the reproduction of election-related materials for distribution to parties, and the production of multiparty posters.

Voter Education

In the original proposal there was no provision for work on civic or voter education activities, both of which were under the purview of the Electoral Commission and the Commission's United Nations advisor for civic education. However, during the course of the election it was clear that the work of the Commission could be supplemented in several important areas.

Prompted by the low turnout during the first round of the voter registration process, USAID/Malawi requested that the in-country team quickly develop a plan to complement the Commission's voter education effort. Mindful that only six weeks were remaining until the election, the NDI-Malawi staff responded with a two-pronged approach: first using radio advertisements to reach large numbers of voters immediately, and then designing educative materials to allow voters to actually practice the balloting process. An extension of the grant was approved and USAID/Malawi provided additional funding for both aspects of the program.

The radio program began with a spot directed at boosting the number of registered voters. Near the end of the original period of registration, only about 50 percent of eligible voters had registered. The NDI-Malawi team consulted the Commission and others involved in voter registration efforts and determined that the low numbers were due in part to the belief among voters that there was no need to register since most had registered the year before for the referendum. To counteract this perception, the staff wrote a radio advertisement which employed the use of a dialogue between a husband and wife in a typical village setting. The script addressed the misconception over registering again, noted that it was not necessary to decide who to vote for before registering, and provided a list of acceptable identification documents. The advertisement was approximately one minute and thirty seconds in length, was recorded in Chichewa, and was aired for the final week of the registration period.

After the registration period ended, the team moved to addressing several election-related issues through radio programming. Many involved in the administration of the Malawi elections felt that the Commission had not devoted significant time to explaining the mechanics of voting to the general public. The NDI-Malawi focus group project confirmed this suspicion, finding that few participants had any information about the actual voting process. Again in response, the team wrote a four-minute radio dialogue between two women at a borehole talking about how to vote on election day. The talent hired for the spot were very animated, making a potentially boring subject exciting. The spot was recorded in Chichewa and aired for three and one-half weeks through noon on election day.

The focus group project also led to the development of another radio spot. It was clear to the moderators that, regardless of geographic location, Malawian women were less informed, were less likely to attend political events, and were faced with more obstacles to

becoming involved in the political process than men. Moved by this fact, two of the focus group moderators authored a voter education song which emphasized the importance of the full participation of women in choosing the next government. Entitled "Dziko Ndi Anthu" or "The Nation is The People," the song was recorded (in Chichewa) by a popular local band and aired in the three weeks prior to the election.

For the fourth radio spot, NDI-Malawi staff member Mark Mullen suggested that country and western star Don Williams be asked to record a public service announcement for the election. Williams, the number one singing star in Malawi, complied and a two minute spot featuring Williams giving a brief explanation of the voting process and urging Malawians to "put their faith in the future and vote" was produced and aired. The Williams spot ran for the last ten days of the election period. Because of Williams' popularity, the NDI-Malawi team issued a press release which was picked up by most newspapers. The Malawi Broadcasting Corporation also ran a news story and thanked NDI for recruiting Williams. The advertisement was the "talk of the town" in the last week, with everyone, including Electoral Commissioners, excited and honored that Williams had taken part in the Malawi election process.

The final spot was a take-off on the South Africa *Project Vote* "Ten Commandments" poster (an NDI voter education project). The last few days of air time were reserved to respond to any rumors which were circulating regarding voting. Fortunately, the days before the election were calm and there were very few fears expressed about voting. The "Ten Commandments of Voting" spot ran for the last week before the election.

The second half of the NDI-Malawi voter education program focused on producing materials that would aid in teaching Malawians how to vote. The Electoral Commission had devised a comprehensive civic education program using drama, radio, video and workshops but the Commission had chosen not to focus a great deal of effort on illustrating the mechanics of voting. There was great concern among the international donor community, church leaders and others involved in administering the elections, that the complexity of the voting procedure would result in a significant percentage of spoiled ballots.

Sensing both the need and concern, the NDI-Malawi team devised a sample election kit to be used in voter education activities conducted by parties, churches and non-governmental organizations. The kit included sample ballots, envelopes, sample ballot boxes and a pamphlet on how to conduct a voter education training session. Total numbers of materials printed included: 400,000 sample ballots, 200,000 envelopes, 500 pamphlets in English, 500 pamphlets in Chichewa, and 2,000 sample ballot boxes. Fewer envelopes and ballot boxes were printed because those materials could be reused.

At first the team had planned to use the Public Affairs Committee, an indigenous NGO affiliated with churches, as a primary point of distribution. However, in direct discussions with church leaders, NDI received many requests to distribute the materials to the churches directly. To address the increased burden this request placed upon the team, the NDI-Malawi staff employed two local hires and asked NDI-Washington staff member Andy Pflaum to come

to Malawi to assist with distribution. Operating under the premise that the materials should be distributed as quickly as possible, the staff divided into three teams with each assigned to one of the country's regions. At each distribution point, the NDI-Malawi team conducted a brief training session, including a mock voting activity, on use of the materials and responded to questions regarding the voting process.

Within the regions, each team started with the major city and distributed the materials first to political parties. When team members traveled to other parts of the regions, district party affiliates were also given an allotment of materials. Larger parties received up to 20,000 sample ballots in each region, with the distribution to smaller parties ranging from 2,000 to 8,000 per region. Following distribution to parties, team members contacted every major church organization and, based on the church's ability to distribute the materials, either provided the appropriate amount of material for the whole region or traveled to affiliate churches in other districts to distribute the materials directly. In addition, in the major cities, both democracy/governance and development NGOs were consulted to determine their interest and ability to use the materials.

Civic education posters developed by the team were also distributed with the sample kit materials. Based on the popularity of the South Africa "Ten Commandments" poster at NDI's all-party conference, 10,000 similar posters were printed in Chichewa. In a joint project with the United Nations, the Malawi team developed a second poster which contained a 100-word message from each party in Chichewa on one side and English on the other. Over 50,000 of these multiparty posters were printed and distributed with the kit materials. All election-related materials were enthusiastically received, and NDI had many requests for additional materials that it could not fill. Materials distribution was completed by April 29.

Election Day Activities

Each of the NDI-Malawi staff members performed different functions on election day. Traci Cook, accompanied by temporary staff member Hawa Abubakur, observed preparation, voting and counting in Mulanje district in the southern region. Based on NDI information, Mulanje was one of the districts which could have significant problems on election day, due to a reluctant District Commissioner, the competitiveness of the parties in the district, and the proximity to Mozambique with the alleged presence Malawi Young Pioneer members. Election observation activities included: visiting the District Commissioner to observe his preparations; providing transportation to a Malawi Broadcasting Corporation reporter; coordinating deployment activities with other United Nations observers; providing transportation to a group of polling staff workers who could not reach their rural location because of a fuel shortage; visiting five of the eight polling centers in Mulanje-Limbuli constituency to observe preparations; visiting all eight polling centers on election day; and observing the count in one center with three stations.

Mark Mullen observed preparation, voting and counting activities in Nsanje, Malawi's southernmost district. Nsanje, on the Mozambique border, is home to large refugee camps, a high crime rate and Gwanda Chakuamba, the Vice President of the Malawi Congress Party. Mullen's election observation activities included: coordinating with the United Nations delegation; investigating a serious complaint of campaign intimidation; meeting with chiefs and village headmen; observing preparations in three quarters of the polling centers in the North constituency, where MCP Vice President Chakuamba was standing as a candidate; visiting half of the polling centers in the North constituency on election day and other polling centers in Thyolo district; observing the count in one center; providing transportation for the presiding officer to the District Commissioner's office; and watching the compilation of results in that office for most of the night.

Following the election, Mullen filed a report with the United Nations describing the findings of his investigation of the intimidation complaint in Nsanje. The report detailed his conversations with chiefs and others who told of a meeting where traditional authorities were instructed not to allow opposition meeting or rallies in their area upon threat of losing their chieftaincy. At the same time, the Electoral Commission received reports of major irregularities in the district. Several commissioners decided to travel to Nsanje to conduct a recount and, at the request of the United Nations, Traci Cook followed the commissioners there to observe the recount activities. Cook kept the UNEAS director apprised of developments throughout the day, and the Commissioners consulted her on their decisions. Mullen's report was also forwarded to the Electoral Commission which considered its findings in declaring a re-vote.

NDI staff members Adrian Muunga and Carmen Lane hosted four election commissioners from Mozambique who were sent to observe the Malawi elections as part of the NDI-Mozambique project. During their first day in Malawi, the Mozambicans met with a variety of officials involved in the election process, including the head of the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation (MBC), the director of the UNEAS, several of Malawi's electoral commissioners and the Public Affairs Committee. Both the Mozambican and Malawian commissioners thought the exchange was extremely fruitful and the Malawian commissioners expressed their eagerness to lend whatever advice or assistance they could to the Mozambican Commissioners in the future. The Mozambican delegation also received a briefing from staff members on background to the election and voting procedures.

For election day, the delegation split into two groups, one led by Lane the other by Muunga. Lane's group remained in Lilongwe district, but traveled outside the capital, while Muunga took two other commissioners to the Mchinji district on the Zambian border. Both groups watched the opening of a polling center and then traveled to other centers throughout the day. The Mozambicans noted a few problems which they indicated they would keep in mind for their October elections: several polling stations were set up poorly, with long, disorderly lines; some stations lacked adequate materials and proper transport to obtain additional supplies; and there was a lack of communication between the District Commissioner and presiding officers over transfer certificates, which caused a Malawian NDI team member to be refused the right

to vote. In addition, the Mozambicans watched the counting process and discussed suggestions about how it could be improved. They liked the procedure of counting the results at each center to reduce the chance of fraud and hoped to use a similar system in their elections.

At the request of the UNEAS and MBC, Kate Head worked to organize the radio station's coverage of election results. Head designed a reporting form for each constituency and a presidential tally sheet. She also assisted UN representative Peter Miller in setting up the "boiler room" operation in the basement of the MBC Lilongwe studios. This type of operation was a departure for the MBC staff and was the first time reporters would be providing returns instead of waiting for the Electoral Commission to announce official results. It was also the first time the station would be on the air for 24 hours.

The coverage was successful with MBC providing the results for the nation, the press, the parties and the Electoral Commission. The project further strengthened the notion of a free press in Malawi. After the results had become final, the radio station was credited with contributing to the sense of calm in the immediate post-polling period by constantly updating listeners on results from all over the country.

Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

During the election period, NDI-Malawi also began preliminary work with indigenous NGOs. The team held individual consultations with NGOs, incorporated work with NGOs into already existing programs and conducted an assessment of NGOs involved in democracy and governance activities.

Initially, the team met with all indigenous NGOs to understand each organization's plan for the election. Because most NGOs were at an embryonic stage of development, often the team's assistance consisted of suggesting effective ways for the organizations to participate in the election process. Later, the team's assistance to NGOs was primarily reactive, responding to specific requests. For example, Kate Head helped the Foundation for Integrity of Creation, Justice and Peace develop ideas for civic education posters; Traci Cook advised two NGOs dealing with women's issues on their efforts to revise sections of the draft constitution and Mark Mullen addressed the coordination concerns of the largest NGO. In addition, the staff provided numerous voter education materials, such as sample posters, manuals and pamphlets, to all interested NGOs. Several NGOs used those materials as prototypes to develop their own educational materials.

At times, the team worked with NGOs as a group. Initial meetings with NGOs revealed a reluctance to commit to in-depth work on civic education issues for fear of retribution from the current or future governments. NDI-Malawi agreed to draft a letter on behalf of parties encouraging full participation by NGOs in the civic education effort. The team then obtained the signatures of all political parties on the letter, thereby removing any formal barriers to participation for NGOs.

Incorporating NGOs into existing programs, the NDI-Malawi staff preceded each regional party conference with a group event focusing exclusively on NGO election activities. The first round of meetings was billed as a roundtable discussion for NGOs interested in civic education and served as an information-sharing forum for all concerned. For many NGOs, the meeting was their first attempt at coordinating efforts with others in their region. In addition to encouraging coordination, the team took the opportunity of addressing Malawian NGOs as a whole to provide basic training and information. NDI-Malawi staff briefed NGO members on important aspects of the election law and illustrated various civic education techniques. At the second round of regional party meetings, the team provided separate election day monitor training for interested NGOs.

Near the end of the election period, NDI-Malawi again met with indigenous NGOs to conduct an assessment of their election activities and to gauge the viability of each for future joint projects. Staff member Traci Cook developed a questionnaire for the individual meetings which was used to ensure that similar information was gathered from each NGO. The questionnaire was divided into three parts: financial/administrative reporting, past activities, and future direction.

These final assessment interviews confirmed the team's observations in the period leading up to the election. Most NGOs had failed to garner any significant financial resources for their election efforts and, perhaps more troubling, very few had adequate systems in place to account for funds that were raised. None had come close to fulfilling their original election plans. Some, however, had managed to participate in a limited way in the election process despite the lack of resources and organization. For example, one NGO had sponsored human rights seminars for the police and army; another NGO held public discussion forums on the constitution; and another NGO worked to revise parts of the draft constitution.

All of the indigenous NGOs working on democracy and governance issues expressed their great desire to continue to promote a respect for human rights and strengthen democratic values. Many of the NGOs are led by talented individuals with innovative ideas. However, they lack the technical and administrative expertise to implement effective programs. Even the Public Affairs Committee (PAC), the most well-funded and staffed NGO, was troubled by poor organization which resulted in the late development of voter education materials and significantly lessened the impact of its program. USAID/Malawi requested and was given a debriefing on the NGO assessment interviews.

Prior to the election, most NGOs were not at a stage of development where it would have been beneficial for the team to work more closely with them, such as jointly sponsoring seminars or conferences. Most had no means of financial support or system of accountability and several were not even registered with the appropriate government ministry. The one exception was the Public Affairs Committee (PAC). However, PAC was already receiving financial and staff support from two European NGOs and concerns about PAC's political ties

persisted until late in the election period. Nevertheless, the NDI-Malawi staff remained a constant resource for NGOs, and the team's work provides a good foundation for expanding work with Malawian NGOs in the post-election period.

PROGRAM RESULTS AND EVALUATION

During the course of the program, the NDI-Malawi staff continually evaluated project activities through: individual interviews with party members, election administration staff and the international community; verbal and written feedback from participants in training sessions; and reports from short term consultants. Party participants suggested new areas for the team to include in its training efforts. Administration staff and international election experts often critiqued NDI's programs based on a specific area of technical expertise. Using their knowledge of NDI's programs in other countries, short term consultants provided advice on the general direction of the program.

That evaluation process contributed greatly to the team's effectiveness in the field program, and the comments and criticisms were used to modify activities and to respond quickly to the changing political situation. For example, when party members complained about the lack of information and late notice on deadlines from the Electoral Commission, NDI-Malawi responded by providing regular updates on Commission activities to the parties; and when international experts expressed concern about the lack of distinction among party messages, NDI-Malawi stepped up its program in this area sponsoring a workshop on writing clear, message-oriented radio advertisements and producing a multiparty message poster.

Most of the evaluations which were conducted during the election period, however, necessarily focused on specific activities and provide only snapshot views of the program. With the conclusion of this phase of NDI's work in Malawi, it is appropriate to take a more comprehensive approach and evaluate the program as a whole. While the program took on many different shapes during its eight-month duration, there are several criteria which should be used to conduct an evaluation: the program's quantifiable and direct results, such as the number of people trained; the program's overall contribution to the transition process; the program's success in fulfilling original objectives and considerations; and the program's usefulness to those involved directly in the Malawi elections.

As a direct result of NDI's political party program, over 600 national, district and local party representatives from all eight political parties were trained in the use of practical election techniques, such as contacting voters, for the May 17 election. Approximately 500 party agents in the country's three regions were given intensive monitoring training for election day. In both cases, NDI provided materials and instructions to assist party members in training others. Forty-two party members involved in publicity activities attended workshops on press relations and the effective use of radio, and many others were assisted weekly with the production of radio advertisements. Over 100 party representatives requested and received one-on-one training in various areas, including fundraising and message development.

In addition to the number of people trained, there were other direct results of NDI's party and voter education program. The national and regional party conferences focused the party members on the importance of organizing early for election activities and provided direction and guidance to local party leaders in the political vacuum left by the national party structures. The radio workshop and assistance program resulted in better radio messages and increased efficiency in the production studio. By sponsoring the appearance of Electoral Commissioners at all training sessions, the NDI party program played a vital role in facilitating the relationship between the Commission and the parties. With the voter education program, NDI produced the only sample ballot and voting kit distributed country-wide. The kits along with the NDI voter education radio spots were the first information available to most voters on the mechanics of voting.

There are other less measurable benefits resulting from NDI project activities. One such benefit in Malawi was the promotion of tolerance among the parties. There was no precedent for how the parties would relate to one another, and the NDI program played an important role in setting appropriate parameters through repeated all-party events and through education on the role of parties.

Most party members also gained valuable confidence through the team's training programs. Much of NDI's work was directed at explaining, and thus removing the mystery from, the election and transition process for party members. The best example of this was the team's presentation during the election monitoring conferences on the voting and counting procedure. For one hour, party participants attempted to find ways to rig the voting, all to no avail. At the end of the session, there was a renewed faith that the election would be a fair reflection of the people's will.

NDI was an integral part of the international effort to assist the Malawian transition to democracy. Working closely with the UNEAS, the NDI-Malawi staff acted as an advocate for the inclusion of party concerns in the administration of the elections. The team was instrumental in lobbying for increased free radio time for party messages. NDI protested when parties were not given enough notice about deadlines, and communicated the concerns of the parties about procedures for election day. In addition, NDI provided UNEAS with valuable field information for election documents, such as the Code of Conduct for monitoring activities and the poll worker's manual. One of the more important contributions was the team's flexibility in addressing otherwise neglected areas. Because of the team's reputation for responding quickly, NDI was approached by the international community and UNEAS several times to conduct specific projects including: focus groups to obtain current information on voter attitudes; voter education materials to supplement the Commission's efforts; multiparty posters to distinguish the party messages; and observation of the recount activities to ensure an international presence.

While developing the Malawi election program in mid-1993, NDI outlined several objectives and considerations by which to judge the success of the program. Several of the objectives were straightforward and were accomplished by the team during the course of the

project. In addressing the goal of the program to enable the parties to monitor the voting and counting, NDI conducted the only in-depth training for party agents and developed a simple, concise form which was used by thousands of monitors on election day. In addressing the goal of the program to provide framework by which parties can engage in a voter education program, NDI held two separate training sessions on educating voters for party members and provided each party with sample ballots and voting kits.

Responding to the program objective to enable the parties to conduct activities which promote political choice, NDI advised the parties on message development and communication, including the use of rallies and radio. Fulfilling the program objective to inform the voters of the distinctions among the parties, NDI lobbied for extended radio time for party messages and produced posters with messages from all parties. The objective to strengthen political parties as institutions in a democracy is less direct, but that goal was met through training sessions on party organization and on the role of parties in a democracy. Special emphasis was also given to the role of the "loyal opposition," which assisted in preparing parties for their eventual role after the election.

To accomplish the objective of strengthening the ability of NGOs to participate in the election process, the team provided guidance on civic education programs and training for non-partisan monitors. Unfortunately, the nascent development of most NGOs prevented any large scale programs. In addition, there were two other troubling results of the election which should be addressed in future program development: no small party gained a seat in Parliament and the voting broke down largely upon regional lines. In evaluating the program as a whole, however, these problems are overshadowed by the greater achievements. The original proposal posed two questions: have parties and NGOs remained engaged in the election process and has the electorate demonstrated a confidence in the democratic process by exercising their voting rights? The answer to both, based on the turnout on election day and the mature response of parties and NGOs to the election results, can only be an emphatic "yes."

By all of the above-mentioned measures, NDI's program surpassed expectations and made a significant contribution to the democratic transition in Malawi. The best evaluations, however, are the actions and comments of those who worked directly with the program and those who benefited from it. Among the international and diplomatic community, NDI-Malawi's work received several plaudits. In what he termed as unprecedented coordination among the international community, the UNEAS director cited NDI's role in an article in a Malawi magazine. The U.S. ambassador repeatedly praised the team's overall efforts, and the mission director of USAID/Malawi expressed her appreciation in a letter of thanks saying, "NDI was always out in front providing valuable and much needed assistance."

The work of the NDI team was also applauded by Malawians. Electoral Commissioner Chipeta made special mention of the voter education work in a speech briefing international observers, and Commissioner Mhone noted NDI's work on keeping the parties informed in a speech before the National Consultative Council. The most rewarding comments, however, came from the those who participated in NDI's training sessions. Some comments

illustrate how participants were eager to share the skills they had learned: "When I go back I will organize a meeting in order to educate every voter in our area," and "It will be easy now to teach others to monitor the elections." Other comments asked for further training: "We intend to call you for more lectures," and "NDI, I wish you would come again." The most important comment, though, came from one participant whose words reflect what is perhaps the ultimate objective of any program: "When NDI continues to join all parties together and shares with us what you have done, you bind us together and enmities go away from us all; thank you very much."

Appendix

Guide to NDI Program Activities

GUIDE TO NDI PROGRAM ACTIVITIES

1. ALL PARTY CONFERENCE

A training seminar for national leadership of all political parties on the components of an effective election plan.

Materials: ANC Campaign Handbook

2. REGIONAL PARTY CONFERENCES

All-party training seminars were conducted at the regional levels (north, central, south). These sessions were aimed at imparting practical campaign skills to district and local party staff.

Materials: Rights and responsibilities Guide for Voter Registration Monitor (English, Chichewa, Tumbuka); Code of Conduct for Political Parties (English, Chichewa, Tumbuka); Election Law Synopsis (English, Chichewa, Tumbuka); Voter Contact Guide; *Project Vote* training materials; Uneven Paths, book on democratization in southern Africa.

3. DEVELOPMENT OF RADIO POLICY

NDI advised the Electoral commission throughout the election period on matters involving the state-owned radio station, including proposed free access time to parties.

Materials: Media in Transitional Democracies, a book on media and elections by Pat Merloe.

4. RADIO TRAINING WORKSHOPS

A training session for radio production staff from all political parties to ensure efficient use of free radio time. The session focused on the practical aspects of producing appealing and effective radio advertisements.

Materials: Stopwatches; reel of American advertisements illustrating different formats; a book on public speaking; an interview guide for candidates.

5. PRESS RELATIONS WORKSHOP

A training session for publicity secretaries on working with the media.

Materials: A book on public speaking; comprehensive guide to press relations.

6. RADIO PRODUCTION ASSISTANCE

NDI responded to an Election Commission request to supervise and assist in the production of political party radio advertisements at the state-owned radio station.

7. FOCUS GROUPS

NDI conducted a series of country-wide focus groups to gauge voter awareness and attitudes, reported findings to political parties, U.S. embassy/USAID staff and international diplomatic staff.

8. ELECTION OBSERVATION MISSIONS TO SOUTH AFRICA

NDI coordinated and sponsored trips for appropriate political party and election commission staff to South Africa to observe election preparations and voting in that country. The trips were designed to pair the Malawians who would play important roles in their country's election with their South African counterparts.

9. REGIONAL ELECTION MONITORING CONFERENCES

All-party training seminars were conducted at the regional levels (north, central, south). These sessions were structured to educate local and district party members on critical aspects of the election day process, thereby enhancing their ability to effectively monitor the election.

Materials: Election monitoring form (Chichewa & English); sample ballots; sample ballot boxes; envelopes; Code of Conduct for Party Agents on Election Day; Electoral Commission voter education posters; official Commission poll worker manuals; multi-party message posters; NDI Zambia report.

10. VOTER EDUCATION RADIO ADVERTISEMENTS

NDI wrote, produced and paid for five radio advertisements which were aimed at boosting voter registration and educating voters on important issues, such as the secrecy of the ballot and the voting process.

11. VOTER EDUCATION ELECTION KITS

NDI produced and distributed election kits to political parties, churches and non-governmental organizations. Each kit included sample ballots, ballot boxes, envelopes and a training manual. The staff also conducted training sessions on the use of the kits.

12. ELECTION DAY ACTIVITIES

NDI Staff observed election day activities in four different districts. NDI Staff also assisted in organizing the 24-hour election coverage by the state-owned radio station as well as observing recount activities in one district.

13. NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

NDI staff advised indigenous and expatriate NGOs on election related activities. NDI also held training sessions for NGO members on voter education and election monitoring.

14. OTHER ACTIVITIES

NDI produced a guide to candidate nomination process for political parties. NDI developed a multiparty poster which included a message from each party and was distributed with the voter education materials. NDI also produced a "Ten Commandments of Voting" poster.

APPENDIX

1. Electoral Code of Conduct
2. Radio Interview Guide for Candidates
& Guide to Press Relations
3. Radio Spots of Political Parties
4. Focus Group Questionnaire Outline
5. Sample Ballot
6. Multi-party Message Posters
7. Developing a Plan of Action for the Election
Conference Agenda
8. Women's Session of the All Party Conference
Agenda

Electoral Code of Conduct

CODE OF CONDUCT

PARLIAMENTARY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ACT (No. 31 of 1993)

(Issued under section 61 (2))

This Code of Conduct shall apply to all political parties and independent candidates contesting in the 1994 Parliamentary and Presidential Elections.

The Electoral Commission realising the need for a code of conduct for the activities of Political Parties and being empowered by the Parliamentary and Presidential Elections Act 1993 hereby makes this Code of Conduct which shall be adhered to by all political parties.

1. PRELIMINARY

In this Code of Conduct the expression "Political Parties" shall, as provided in the context include independent candidates.

2. GENERAL

All political parties shall:

- a) comply with all the electoral laws and regulations currently in force;
- b) be deemed to be aware of their rights and obligations and to respect the rights of others;
- c) extend all necessary help and cooperation to the law enforcing agencies throughout the election process;
- d) extend full cooperation to the Electoral Commission and election officials in order to guarantee the integrity of the election and to ensure that safety and security throughout the election are maintained; and
- e) not indulge in offering gifts or gratification to induce another person to stand or not to stand as a candidate, or to withdraw his candidature

3. CAMPAIGN

Political parties, their candidates, agents, workers or their supporters shall:

- a) not propagate any opinion or action which is immoral or is in any manner prejudicial to the sovereignty, integrity and security of Malawi or the maintenance of public order or the integrity and independence of the judiciary;
- b) organise and conduct their campaigns in a manner and spirit that will promote a congenial and peaceful atmosphere throughout the election process;

- c) not campaign in any public place unless notification in writing to this effect has been made to the District Commissioner with a copy of such notification to the Officer-in-Charge of Police;
- d) not use language which is inflammatory, defamatory or insulting or which constitutes incitement to public disorder, insurrection, hate, violence or war when campaigning;
- e) not in any way whatsoever disrupt, destroy or frustrate campaign efforts of other political parties;
- f) in their campaign speeches be openly vocal against violence or threats of violence and against any acts of vandalism or public disorder committed or threatened by members of their political parties;
- g) refrain from action or making speeches based on or which incite tribalistic or racist sentiments or conflict between sects, communities and ethnic groups, and shall make speeches or slogans that are based on the principles of morality decorum and decency;
- h) not hold campaign meetings within the premises of military units and police stations at anytime, public institutions and workplaces during normal working hours, and educational institutions during periods of classes;
- i) not carry lethal or dangerous weapons during the campaign and shall not use fire crackers or other explosives at public meetings;
- j) not be allowed to broadcast commercial advertisement for their campaigns on the Malawi Broadcasting Corporation; and
- k) not to coerce or offer monetary or other kinds of inducements to persons to vote for or against a particular party or candidate or to abstain from voting.

4. REGISTRATION OF VOTERS

Representatives of political parties shall:

- a) monitor the registration activities conscientiously and objectively;
- b) cooperate in order to ensure that the registration activities proceed normally and smoothly by avoiding unjustified interference in the work of the registration officers;
- c) refrain from submitting complaints or appeals in bad faith or with the purpose of paralysing the registration process; and
- d) refrain from divulging any information about a voter or prospective voter and any information which is relevant to the registration process obtained as a consequence of acting as a representative.

5. POLLING

All political parties and their representatives shall:

- a) on polling day cooperate and assist polling station officers in their duties to ensure peaceful and orderly polling and complete freedom for the voters to exercise their franchise freely without being subjected to any hindrance or obstruction;
- b) cooperate with polling station officers in the casting and counting of votes;
- c) refrain from interfering unjustifiably or in bad faith with the duties of the polling station officers so as not to disturb the process of casting votes;
- d) scrupulously avoid all activities which amount to corrupt practices and offences under the electoral laws such as bribing voters, intimidation of voters or impersonation of voters;
- e) not procure the support of anyone to destroy ballot paper or any official mark on the ballot paper;
- f) not incite their supporters to engage in any action that contravenes polling procedures as set out in the electoral laws;
- g) not procure the support or assistance of any election officer to promote or hinder the election or a candidate;
- h) resist any attempts to procure votes by forcible occupation of polling stations;
- i) not exhibit any form of propaganda, campaign material or advertisement inside a polling station or within a radius of one hundred metres outside a polling station;
- j) maintain and aid in maintaining the secrecy of the voting at such station and shall not communicate except for some purpose authorised by law, to any person information as to the name of any voter who has or has not applied for any ballot paper or voted at the station; and
- k) not interfere with a voter after he has received a ballot paper and before he has placed a ballot paper in a ballot box.

JUSTICE A.S.E. MGOSA (MRS.)
CHAIRPERSON OF THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION

Radio Interview Guide for Candidates

&

Guide to Press Relations

GREER, MARGOLIS, MITCHELL, BURNS & ASSOCIATES

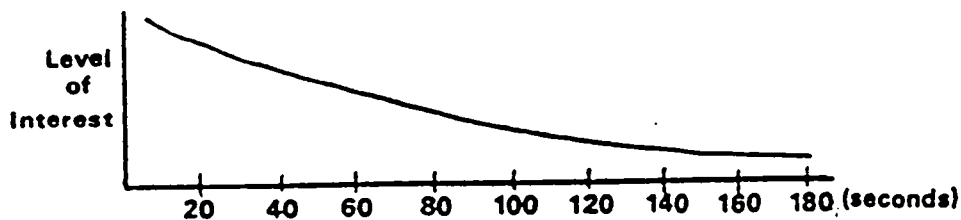
MEDIA TRAINING

1. The Audience

- Remember who your audience is and who you want to reach.
- It is not the reporter or the people in the room, but the people at home who are watching, reading, hearing you.
- Average audience has 6th grade vocabulary.
- You are speaking to most people in their living rooms or dining rooms. Generally, you should be informal in your style.

2. The Interest Level

- Interest levels diminish quickly.



- Make the first words out of your mouth the most memorable.

3. The Response

- Responses to questions should be short.
- Respond in 18-30 second bites.
- Start with positive conclusion, then facts.
- Focus on your key points, not the interviewer's points.
 - ✓ Know in advance what one or two points you want to get across -- use them prominently in you responses.
 - ✓ If you get a question you don't want to answer, change the question.
 - ✓ Localize and personalize

4. Keys to Positive Communication in the TV Interview

■ Expressions

- ✓ Over-emphasize positive expressions; negative characteristics are exaggerated on TV and a neutral appearance looks angry and uninterested.
- ✓ Smile.
- ✓ Exaggerate about 15%.

■ Posture

- ✓ Sit as far back in your chair as possible.
- ✓ Lean slightly forward.
- ✓ Cross legs at knee or ankle.
- ✓ Eye Contact
- ✓ Maintain eye contact with interviewer.
- ✓ Turn to camera only on rare occasions for particularly important or personal passages.

■ Physical Gestures

- ✓ All gestures should be in the triangle from the bottom of your chin to your lower chest, between your shoulders.

■ Varied Vocal Patterns

- ✓ Highlight points by variations in voice pitch and intensity, and utilization of dramatic pauses.
- ✓ Speak a little more slowly than in normal conversation.
- ✓ Keep a relaxed, non-formal tone to your comments.

■ Animation

- ✓ Hands, face and eyebrows can effectively add credibility to your comments.

■ Make-Up

- ✓ If you sweat, have large pores or beard growth, a light coat of pancake will help.
- ✓ Wear pancake that is skin tone or one shade darker.

5. Dressing for Success

- Take off name tags and buttons before your interview; they are distracting.

■ Eyeglasses

- ✓ No metal frames or thick rims; metal reflects light and wide frames cast shadows.
- ✓ Best glasses tend to be rimless or tortoise shell.
- ✓ If light is being reflected off the lenses, tilt them slightly up from the ear, angling the lens downward.

■ Men

- ✓ The darker the suit, the more seriously you will be taken.
- ✓ Dark blues and grays are best for most TV appearances. Do not wear suits with patterns.
- ✓ Red, maroon or gray ties without a distracting pattern are preferred.
- ✓ Blue or gray shirts are best. Avoid white as it tends to flare under the lights.
- ✓ Socks should rise well about the pant leg when sitting and should be the color of the suit or one shade darker.

- Women

- ✓ Dress in neutrals and avoid large patterns.
- ✓ Don't wear big jewelry that will distract or reflect light.
- ✓ Skirts should fall over the knee.
- ✓ No open-toe shoes.
- ✓ Do not wear too much or brightly colored lipstick.

6. Prepare for Success

- Rehearse all anticipated questions with someone else.
- Determine what key points you want to communicate.
- Identify passages where repetition or pauses can be inserted to highlight points in speech text.
- Perform breathing, facial exercises to loosen up.
 - ✓ Stretch facial muscles.
 - ✓ Breathe deeply in through your nose, exhale through your mouth.
 - ✓ A little quick breathing just before an appearance may also help relax you.
- Assume you are on camera from the moment you get out of the car until you leave the studio.
 - ✓ Don't say anything in front of anyone, including the receptionist, that you wouldn't want to comment on during the interview.
- Check the interview area.
 - ✓ Is the chair comfortable?
 - ✓ Does it squeak when you swivel?
- Do you need water?
- Have you introduced yourself to the technicians -- they will determine how you look on TV.
- Chat with the interviewer.
 - ✓ Make clear the areas you think are important to cover.
 - ✓ Get a good sense of what they would like to speak about.

7. Reviewing After the Interview is Completed

- Review questions asked which may be asked again in the future.
 - ✓ Reflect on responses you would like to repeat.
 - ✓ Write down responses you wish you would have said.
- Relax.

Radio Spots

UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
PARTY POLITICAL SPOT: 1
20-26 MARCH 1994

SFX: CHANT -WE WANT CHANGE! (5SEC)

VOICE 1: UDF PRESIDENT: 1993 IS THE YEAR OF CHANGE.

SFX: CHANT-WE WANT CHANGE! (2SEC)

VOICE 2: DAWN OF A NEW POLITICAL ORDER-THANKS TO THE
ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS FOR SETTING THE STAGE.

SFX: RYTHMIC BEAT OVER CHANT (3SEC)

VOICE 1: Kaya wina afune,kaya asafune chaka chino zinthu zisintha basi!

SFX: RHYTHMIC BEAT (ONLY)

CALL: U.....DF (3 TIMES)
VOTEUDF

SFX: RHYTHMIC BEAT (ONLY)

VOICE 2: a) U.D.F. The party for change!
 b) U.D.F. The party for unity
 c). U.D.F. The party for free education
 d). U.D.F. The party for development
 e). U.D.F. The party that cares for you

VOICE 3: CHANT: Kumpoto-U
 Pakati- D
 Kumwera-F
 Dziko lonse-U.D.F.

VOICE:2: May 17th is the day when Malawians will have a chance of a
life time to change their political destiny. But you cannot effect that change
if you do not register. Register now at a center near you within walking
distance. Because you are very important in this exercise. Registration ends
March 26th-so hurry before you lose a golden chance.

SFX: RHYTHMIC BEAT.

VOICE 3: Nawa a Presidenti a UDF a Bakili Muluzi:

VOICE 1: Chonde ndikukupemphani a Malawi nonse kuti mudzavotere UDF .
Kalembetseni mwansanga mkaundula wa voti ku malo omwe muli
nao pafupi. Kwa inu omwe munataya chikalata cha kalemba,
pitaninso ku malo amene munalembetsera kuti akakupatseni chi kalata
china.

SFX: CHANT-WE WANT CHANGE (2SEC)

VOICE 2: Kusintha komwe ife a UDF -tikufuna ndi:
a) kuthetseratu ulamuliro wa nkhanza,
b) kuchepetsa umphawi,
c) kuchepetsa bvuto la matenda,
d) kuthetsa umbuli,
e) kuchepetsa ulova,
f) kuthetsa njala
g) kulimbikitsa chitetezo
h) ndi kubweretsa chitukuko ponse ponse.

SFX: RHYTHMIC BEAT (2SEC)

VOICE 2: Boma la UDF lidzapereka mphamvu kwa inu a Amalawi.
Kumbukirani kuti pa 17 May mudzakhala ndi mphamvu ndi mwai
kusintha boma lanu. Choncho kalembetseni mkaundula wa voti
pafupi ndi malo omwe mumakhala.

SFX: RHYTHMIC BEAT (2SEC)

VOICE 3: M'malawi ali yense, amai, abambo, agogo ndiponso anyamata ndi
atsikana okwanitsa zaka 18 zakubadwa ayenera kulembetsa kuti
adzavote nawo.

SFX: CHANT WE WANT CHANGE. (UP AND HOLD UNDER)

VOICE 2: Kutitisinthe dziko la Malawi, voterani aphungu a UDF ndi
Presidenti Bakili Muluzi.

SFX: CHANT -WE WANT CHANGE. MIX WITH RHYTHM AND OUT.

Radio Script for 'United Front for Multi-party Democracy' (UFMD) March 1994, Malawi

The United Front for Multi-party Democracy (UFMD) was founded on 29th June 1991 as a pressure group fighting for the restoration of democracy and basic human rights in Malawi. It was the first Malawian pressure group to be formed.

When AFORD and UDF were formed in October 1992, the Interim National Executive Committee sent to both groups congratulations welcoming them to the struggle. Both groups were implored to accept that we work toward unity, with AFORD and UDF as the internal front and UFMD as the external front of a common cause. In December 1992 UDF responded to our call. Their delegation and ours met in Harare and discussed a number of issues.

Following the pastoral letter of March 1992, the UFMD sent solidarity messages to the Catholic bishops and called on all the other religious groups in the country to emulate the example of bishops. After Chakufwa Chihana was arrested on return from the UFMD organised conference in Lusaka, the UFMD campaigned for his unconditional release despite the fact that there were differences between him and the UFMD at the conference.

The UFMD record is one of consistent struggle for the restoration of democracy, human rights and justice for all since 1964. The UFMD have been the torch bearers of democracy, freedom, and human rights handed over to them by the great sons of Malawi, Henry Chipembere, Yatuta Chisiza, Augustine Bwanausi, Dr. Atati Mpakati, Orton Chirwa, and many others who were killed in the struggle. You have every reason to vote for the UFMD. The UFMD is the mother of all political parties, the UFMD will never betray you, the UFMD is a party for unity of all political parties and all the people of Malawi. Vote UFMD, vote unity for Mother Malawi. Vote UFMD by putting the burning flame in the envelope on 17th May. Power to the People.

Radio Script for 'Congress of the Second Republic' (CSR) March 1994, Malawi

The Congress for the Second Republic of Malawi (CSR), the Party of Unity, along with our candidate Mr. Kanyama Chiume will lead a new energized Malawi into the next century on the 17th of May.

If you want change, register today to be able to vote on May 17.

Once voted into power, the CSR - the party that cares for you - will improve the standard of living of everyone. We intend to build more and better feeder roads to facilitate the movement of rural produce to the market and manufactured goods to the villagers.

We will build more schools and train more teachers to enable every Malawian to become literate. At present, less than 30% of the population can read and write. The CSR, your party that looks ahead, intends to establish a university in each of the three regions.

The CSR - the party of love and unity - will improve the medical services to ensure that everyone in our country has a longer expectation of life. We will provide clean water and electricity not only to urban dwellers but also to millions of Malawians in the villages.

The rural electrification will facilitate the establishment of small scale industries in the rural areas which will not only provide much needed jobs for our youths, but will also check the drain of the much needed labour force from the rural areas.

We want to create a new Malawi where no one will live in fear of any kind but where the rule of law will not only exist but will be seen to exist.

We are a new party in Malawi - indeed the latest - but our leader Kanyama Chiume has been a gallant fighter for independence and later justice for this country for over 40 years. No wonder he is the most feared politician. He is fighting for you - for a better tomorrow and a better Malawi.

Vote for the CSR - the Party of Unity - because we believe in a new, energized Malawi. We will lead you to a brighter and better Malawi.

Focus Group Questionnaire Outline

3-28 3:17 PM
3-28 8:15 USA

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTE
FOCUS GROUPS
MARCH 29 - APRIL 9, 1994

NDI would have three primary objectives in conducting focus groups in Malawi: (1) gauging respondent's awareness of the eight political parties, their leaders, their messages and their symbols; (2) assessing the participants knowledge and concerns surrounding the elections and voting process; (3) identifying the hopes and expectation the participants have for a multiparty government, in order to appropriately shape longer-term plans for democratic development.

FOCUS GROUP OUTLINE AND QUESTIONS

Introduction

Introduce Yourself

Explain What a Focus Group Is

A discussion

No right or wrong answers, just your ideas and opinions

Feel free to disagree with people. We want you to tell your own opinions, even if they are different from other people in the group

Would like everyone to participate in the discussion because everyone's ideas are important

Explain that this is a project for research purposes by an international organization that is interested in what Malawian communities are thinking.

General Information from the Participants

Ask each participant their age, job, background, and family.

Are things in your village getting better or worse or staying the same?

What is the best and worst thing that has happened to your village in the last year?

What concerns do you have about your village?

How are decisions made in the village? How are problems handled?

Do you think five years from now that things will be better, about the same, or worse?

Name Association with Concepts and Institutions

I'd like to see if we could play a game of words. I'll give you a word, and you think of the word or phrase that comes to mind. For example, if I said "children" you might think of families, or that children make you happy, or that children are the future...If you don't happen to know a word that I use, that's fine.

Nation	Democracy
Government	Multiparty
Churches	Police
Traditional Leaders	Intimidation
Army, Soldiers	Electoral Commission
Malawi Young Pioneers	CCAM
International Donors	Political Parties
The MBC Radio Station	The United Nations
Multiparty	Elections

Elections and Voting

Malawi will have general elections on May 17 for Parliament and for President. The international group that is conducting these conversations want to know what you think about this election.

What do you think about these elections? Did you register?

Suppose that we had an expert here who knew all about voting and elections. What would you want to ask them? What would you like to know about elections before you went to vote?

Let me read some reasons people might be reluctant to vote. Please tell me how important each is for this village.

- Voting will not be secret
- Afraid to vote
- Can't read very well
- Already voted
- Don't have enough information to decide
- Do not know how to vote or what the process is
- Believe the elections won't change anything
- Do not care what happens
- Not interested in getting involved
- Believe the election day will be dangerous

Do you talk about parties and the election? To whom? What other ways do you get information? Do you listen to the radio?

Have any of the political parties campaigned in this area? Which?

These are the symbols of the eight political parties. Do you

I am going to say some names. Please tell me whether you recognize
Uguzi... Chikwila Chikwila, Chifor Mumbere, Mwambi
Malwa, Tomas Mumbha. Aleka Banda. Hastings
Ununga, Gwanja Chikwila, Lumumba Dima, Soma Soma, Namanga Mungu,
Kanyama Chiyume, Harry Bwanausi?

Do you think women will be involved in politics? Have you heard of women running for office? What do you feel women's role should be in government?

What do you want from the next government? Do you think things will get better, stay the same, or get worse?

Someone in parliament will represent your village in the government. Do you know who is running in this constituency? What do you want this person to do?

Do you think that the people who are elected will come and visit the villages to help with problems, what would you tell them?

If you could have one improvement in your life, what would it be?

Is there anything in your community that you would like the government to do?

What is the most important thing that a government should do when it is elected next month?

if there is one thing that would make your children have a better life, what would it be?

Sample Ballot

NDI/MALAWI SAMPLE PERFORATED BALLOT

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



AFORD

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



CSR

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



MCP

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



MDP

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



MDU

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



MNDP

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



UDF

Constituency Name

Parliamentary Election 1994

Candidate Name



UFMD

Constituency Name

Multi-party Message Poster



AFORD

Vote AFORD. Vote Chihana. No-one would have thought two years ago that Malawi would become a multiparty state. AFORD has made the change. The coming election will not be about the past. It will be about our peace and stability, about progress and prosperity, about nation building. With an AFORD Government:

- All Malawians will be treated equally
- The values of human rights, democracy, freedom of association and worship and the rule of law shall prevail
- Transparency and accountability will be the norm
- All her citizens shall be proud to call themselves "Malawians"

Vote AFORD. Vote Chihana.
Malawi's only hope.



CSR

- The CSR was formed in 1975. It has always expounded the gospel of the total liberation and freedom of Malawians. It made extensive consultations to achieve this goal.

- It is important to know and focus on our enemy. Let us not waver. Giving the enemy another chance to rule will be catastrophic.

- To defeat our common enemy, we need UNITY. This is manifested in our common electoral strategy with MDU, UDF and UFMD, so that we rid Malawi of oppressors.

- Vote for CSR parliamentary candidates whose symbol is a boy reading a book and vote for Bakili Muluzi for president.



MCP

The Malawi Congress Party is the mother of all the political parties in Malawi. It is a party behind the Nation. The MCP endured and adapted safely to the change of the times.

The MCP demonstrated in degree and manner the desired sense of maturity, integrity and direction in the new Malawi. Its promises are testably practical, relevant and down to earth.

It must be so because the MCP has at its centre, the welfare of the Malawians in and around their daily business, be it in agriculture, health, education, religion, journalism, basic human rights and social and economic services.



MDP

MDP! MOTO! Malawi Democratic Party under vigilant, new blood leadership with Kamlepo Kalua has demonstrated the aspiration of new Malawi.

A clean government, corruption free. Vote MDP. Understanding, committed leaders, yes! leadership without pomp, heavy bureaucracy and hero worshipping. Vote MDP.

MDP will turn MYP bases and MCDE into secondary schools. That means more schools.

Care for civil servants, introduce a medical aid scheme and reasonable salaries.

Workers - improved conditions of service, housing, trade unions. Increase employment opportunities.

Farmers - good prices, redistribution of unused land, improved agricultural farm inputs.

Women attain equal rights, respect and dignity.



MDU

The Malawi Democratic Union would like to make this special message to all Malawians, eligible to vote on May 17th.

The Malawi Democratic Union is a party started in 1982 as an underground movement. Our goal is to bring real democracy in Malawi under the symbol of the shaded male dove.

The Malawi Democratic Union is a party for peace, unity and justice and will cater for education, health, agriculture, rural and urban developments.

The Malawi Democratic Union will honour the bill of human rights and safeguard the law. Vote for MDU.



MNDP

MNDP will:

Enhance women's opportunities at work and public offices provide equal job opportunities and facilities for the disabled, provide adequate pensions adjusted for inflation; prioritise rural economic development and encourage job creation for rural people, adopt an agricultural policy to encourage people to provide their food as well as maximising benefits from export-orientated crops, form a commission to look into land-redistribution, work to provide decent housing for everyone; spend 25% of its annual budget to aid the disadvantaged, provide quality education for our youth, allow private ownership of radio and television stations.



UDF

Make sure you place the ballot paper with the symbol of CLASPED HANDS only in the envelope on polling day.

VOTE FOR UDF because it will:

- 1) alleviate poverty and human suffering;
- 2) offer free primary education and improvement of Health services;
- 3) give priority to provision and improvement of Health services;
- 4) empower women, youth and the disabled in all aspects of development;

Vote UDF since it:

- 5) adheres to basic Human Rights such as freedoms of expression, of assembly, of religion, of the press and other freedoms;
- 6) believes in collective decision-making through individual accountability, honesty and transparency.



UFMD

The UFMD symbol is a burning flame held firmly by a clenched fist and is the party symbol signifying both POWER and UNITY which the party stands for.

The burning flame shows the way to a bright future full of hope and promise. The burning flame will expose to the glare of light and justice all the wrong doings of the past.

VOTE FOR THE BURNING FLAME

VOTE FOR A BRIGHTER FUTURE

VOTE FOR THE MOTHER OF ALL
POLITICAL PARTIES

VOTE UFMD

Developing a Plan of Action for the Election

Conference Agenda

Developing a Plan of Action for the Election
Lilongwe, Malawi
January 28-29, 1994

Friday, January 28

- 7:30 am - **Registration and Continental Breakfast**
8:20 am **Location:** Registration - Viphya Lounge Area
Breakfast - Greenery Restaurant
- 8:30 am **Welcome, Introductions and Opening Remarks**
Speaker: Ambassador Pistor/Michael Pitts
Location: Viphya Room
- 8:45 am - **Plenary I: The Electoral Law and the Election**
10:00 am **Speakers:** Michael Meadowcroft, Director,
UN Electoral Assistance Unit
Ed Brown, E. Charles Brown & Associates
Location: Viphya Room
- 10:00 am - **Tea/Coffee Break**
10:15 am **Location:** Viphya Room Balcony
- 10:15 am - **Plenary II: Components of an Effective Election Plan**
11:00 am **Speakers:** Nancy Clack, Political Services Director,
Direct Approach
James Mothibamele, Member of Parliament,
Botswana; Youth Vice Chairman, Botswana
Democratic Party
Location: Viphya Room
- 11:00 am - **Workshop Session I**
Party Organization and Management (Workshop A)
-- James Mothibamele - Game Room (MCP)
- Identifying and Using Resources (Workshop B)
-- Nancy Clack - Viphya #1 (UDF)
- Voter Education Methods (Workshop C)
-- Robert Mopp - Video Room (AFORD)

Defining Your Message (Workshop D)

-- Kate Head - Viphya #2 (MDP)

Communicating Your Message (Workshop E)

-- Ed Brown - Suite #3, Rooms 277/278 (UFMD)

Contacting and Persuading Voters (Workshop F)

-- H. Kanana - Suite #2, Rooms 275/276 (MNDP)

Open Workshop

- Traci Cook - Suite #1, Rooms 127/128

12:15 pm -

1:30 pm

Sit-down Lunch

Location: Greenery Restaurant

1:30 pm -

2:45 pm

Workshop Session II

Party Organization and Management (Workshop A)

-- James Mothibamele - Suite #1, Rooms 127/128 (MDU)

Identifying and Using Resources (Workshop B)

-- Nancy Clack - Game Room (MCP)

Voter Education Methods (Workshop C)

-- Robert Mopp - Viphya #1 (UDF)

Defining Your Message (Workshop D)

-- Kate Head - Video Room (AFORD)

Communicating Your Message (Workshop E)

-- Ed Brown - Viphya #2 (MDP)

Contacting and Persuading Voters (Workshop F)

-- H. Kanana - Suite #3, Rooms 277/278 (UFMD)

Open Workshop

-- Traci Cook - Suite #2, Rooms 275/276 (MNDP)

3:00 pm -

3:30 pm

Tea Break

Location: Viphya Room Balcony

3:30 pm -
4:45 pm

Workshop Session III

Party Organization and Management (Workshop A)

-- James Mothibamele - Suite #2, Rooms 275/276 (MNDP)

Identifying and Using Resources (Workshop B)

-- Nancy Clack - Suite #1, Rooms 127/128 (MDU)

Voter Education Methods (Workshop C)

-- Robert Mopp - Game Room (MCP)

Defining Your Message (Workshop D)

-- Kate Head - Viphya #1 (UDF)

Communicating Your Message (Workshop E)

-- Ed Brown - Video Room (AFORD)

Contacting and Persuading Voters (Workshop F)

-- H. Kanana - Viphya #2 (MDP)

Open Workshop

-- Traci Cook - Suite #3, Rooms 277/278 (UFMD)

5:00 pm -
6:30 pm

Reception

Location: Viphya Room & Balcony

Saturday, January 29

8:00 am

Continental Breakfast and Late Registration

Location: Late Registration -- Front Lobby
Breakfast -- Greenery Restaurant

8:30 am -

Workshop Session IV

9:45 am

Party Organization and Management (Workshop A)

-- James Mothimabele - Viphya Room #2 (UFMD)

Identifying and Using Resources (Workshop B)

-- Nancy Clack - Viphya Room #1 (MNDP)

Voter Education Methods (Workshop C)

-- Robert Mopp - Mulanje Room #1 (MDU)

Defining Your Message (Workshop D)

-- Kate Head - Kakande Room (MCP)

Communicating Your Message (Workshop E)

-- Ed Brown - Game Room (UDF)

Contacting and Persuading Voters (Workshop F)

-- H. Kanana - Suite #2, Rooms 275/276 (AFORD)

Open Workshop

-- Traci Cook - Video Room (MDP)

****8:30 am -**

Optional Workshop for Women Party Representatives**

****9:45 am**

Hosted by U.S. Agency for International Development**

-- AID Rep - Suite #1, Rooms # 127/128

9:45 am -

Tea Break

10:15 am

Location: Viphya Room Balcony

10:15 am -

Workshop Session V

11:30 am

Party Organization and Management (Workshop A)

-- James Mothibamele - Video Room (MDP)

Identifying and Using Resources (Workshop B)

-- Nancy Clack - Viphya Room #2 (UFMD)

Voter Education Methods (Workshop C)

-- Robert Mopp - Viphya Room #1 (MNDP)

Defining Your Message (Workshop D)

-- Kate Head - Mulanje #1 (MDU)

Communicating Your Message (Workshop E)

-- Ed Brown - Kakande Room (MCP)

Contacting and Persuading Voters (Workshop F)

-- H. Kanana - Game Room (UDF)

Open Workshop

-- Traci Cook - Suite #2, Rooms 275/276 (AFORD)

11:30 pm -

Sit Down Lunch

1:00 pm

Location: Greenery Restaurant

1:00 pm -

Workshop Session VI

2:15 pm

Party Organization and Management (Workshop A)

-- James Mothibamele - Video Room (UDF)

Identifying and Using Resources (Workshop B)

-- Nancy Clack - Viphya Room #2 (AFORD)

Voter Education Methods (Workshop C)

-- Robert Mopp - Viphya Room #1 (MDP)

Defining Your Message (Workshop D)

-- Kate Head - Mulanje #1 (UFMD)

Communicating Your Message (Workshop E)

-- Ed Brown - Kakande Room (MNDP)

Contacting and Persuading Voters (Workshop F)

-- H. Kanana - Game Room (MDU)

Open Workshop

-- Traci Cook - Suite #2, Rooms 275/276 (MCP)

3:45 pm -

Plenary III: What's at Stake in the Elections

4:45 pm

Speaker: Rodger Chongwe, Former Minister of Local
Government, Zambia
Mulanje Room

4:45 pm -
5:15 pm

Closing Remarks / Questions / Comments
Mulanje Room

5:30 pm -

Press Briefing
Kankande Room

WORKSHOP TOPICS

Workshop A: Party Organization and Management

Topics Will Include: party structure (national and local); party administration; internal communication; defining jobs and responsibilities; organizing parties for elections; role of local parties in elections; party's role in recruiting and training candidates

Speaker: James Mothibamele

Workshop B: Identifying and Using Resources

Topics Will Include: budget; identifying resources: people, money, supplies; targeting your resources doing more with less; (short discussion of low donor fundraising and volunteer recruitment)

Speaker: Nancy Clack

Workshop C: Voter Education Methods

Speaker: Robert Mopp

Workshop D: Defining Your Message

Topics Will Include: issue research; understanding voter attitudes; development of campaign message; defining differences from other parties

Speaker: Kate Head

Workshop E: Communicating Your Message

Topics Will Include: radio - free time/news time; press releases/conferences (short discussion on radio advertising - announce we will do a more in-depth workshop on radio advertising later)

Speaker: Ed Brown

Workshop F: Contacting and Persuading Voters

Topics Will Include: visibility - signs, soundtrucks, parades; appealing to constituency groups (including women); opinion leader recruitment; door-to-door; rallies; neighborhood offices; leaflets; incorporating civic education into voter contact (materials and events) for voters and party workers

Speaker: H. Kanana

Women's Session of the All Party Conference

Agenda

WOMEN'S SESSION OF THE ALL PARTY CONFERENCE, 29 JAN 1994

PURPOSE: To identify the five most important issues affecting women in Malawi today that belong on the country's political agenda.

This session provided the first opportunity for women to come together across political lines to discuss and agree on the key issues which affect women in Malawi.

At the end of the session, the women agreed that these issues should be incorporated into the new constitution. Party representatives at this workshop will present these issues to their delegates on the NCC Constitutional Sub-Committee. In addition, one of the women who is a member of the NCC Constitutional Sub-committee will present the five issues to this Sub-Committee.

The women also agreed to present these issues to their fellow delegates at this conference so that all the parties could endorse these issues. The reason for this was to ensure that they are addressed no matter who makes up the new government.

These issues were endorsed by all seven political parties. It is now up to each party to develop strategies to address them.

THE FIVE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUES ARE:**1. EDUCATION**

Encourage girls to enter and stay in school at the primary and secondary levels, and provide opportunities for girls in traditional and non-traditional fields. Also, address the problems that cause girls to drop out of school.

2. POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Recognize the positive roles women can play in and outside the political arena and develop schemes to involve more women in politics.

3. ECONOMIC EQUALITY

Provide financial opportunities (including loans) for women to allow them full and equal participation in economic activities, such as establishing their own businesses.

4. LEGAL RIGHTS: LABOR AND FAMILY LAW

Provide women the same legal rights and protections as men in areas such as land ownership, inheritance, property rights, and labor laws.

5. HIV/AIDS PREVENTION

Promote HIV/AIDS prevention programs for men and women to reduce the number of HIV/AIDS cases in women.

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WOMEN'S SESSION OF THE ALL PARTY CONFERENCE, 29 JAN 1994

LIST OF IMPORTANT ISSUES AFFECTING WOMEN IN MALAWI IDENTIFIED BY WORKSHOP PARTICIPANTS

1. Women should have full political participation.
2. Women have the right to decide what political party to belong to.
3. Eliminate women's exclusion from non-political activities.
4. Involve women in the economic and social development process.
5. Women should be involved in advanced education, including traditional and non-traditional fields.
6. Address cultural constraints that hinder women's advancement.
7. Men should not overlook women with regard to employment.
8. Change perception of women in politics - women play positive role.
9. Women should have the legal right to inherit property.
10. Increase rural women's involvement in the development and political process.
11. Need laws to protect employed women. (Example: women should be exempted from certain taxes.)
12. Pension schemes and all other employment benefits should be equal for men and women.
13. Women need access to credit/collateral.
14. Women should be able to own land.
15. Reduce drop out of girls in secondary school. Secondary schools should introduce trade schools.
16. Retired women need legal rights for the protection of themselves and their children.
17. Need advanced training for women birth attendants.
18. Govt. should provide supplementary assistance to women with more than five children and orphans.
19. Incentives should be given for women to have less children. (Example: provision of family planning)
20. Men should be legally penalized for taking advantage of young girls.
21. Promote HIV/AIDS prevention for men to decrease cases of HIV/AIDS among women.
22. Assistance should be provided to disabled girls and women.
23. Problems causing girls dropout from school should be addressed.
24. Women should have the right to bail others out from jail.
25. Women should have same legal rights as men.
26. Cultural constraints should be addressed to allow women to participate in all aspects of society.
27. Child labor laws are needed.
28. Women should be encouraged to go into business, particularly self-employment. Women should be allowed to get business loans

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119- 2-84 ; 9:08 ;

265 742 673:# 2

TO: NDI/Malawi

FROM: Stephanie Funk *S. Funk.*

RE: Women's Session for "All Party Conference"

Date: Feb. 17, 1994

Attached are summaries of the women's session of NDI/Malawi's "All Party Conference". This memo further expands on that session to explain it's creation and implementation.

When the "All Party Conference" was being planned NDI and USAID/Malawi agreed that it was important to ensure that women were included as part of the conference. NDI had invited 20 delegates from each of the seven political parties. To ensure that women were part of these delegations, NDI further requested that at least 5 of the 20 invites from each party be women. This request resulted in the participation of women at the conference.

Over 30 women attended the women's session and there were four facilitators. As a USAID/Malawi representative, I kicked off the session by explaining that the purpose was to identify the five most important issues which affect women in Malawi today. The intent of identifying these issues was to help women in Malawi regardless of their political affiliation. We saw this as the first opportunity for women to come together across political lines and discuss the issues which affect their lives. The beauty of identifying these issues at the "All Party Conference" was that they could then be presented to their fellow delegates for discussion and possible endorsement by the parties. It was felt that if all the parties endorsed these issues then it would help ensure that they would be addressed no matter who won the election. It was explained that the session would be broken into two parts of 45 minutes each. The first part was for the women to brainstorm and identify issues and the second part was to come to agreement on the five most important ones.

We therefore kicked off the first part of the session with the acknowledgment that time was of the essence and would have to be structured. A second facilitator led the discussion and although women were hesitant at the beginning, they gained confidence in the process and at the end of 45 minutes approximately 30 issues were written on flip charts hanging around the room. (As issues were identified, a third facilitator wrote them on flip charts.) While the discussion was taking place, a fourth facilitator sat in the audience and collated the issues into broad categories.

The fourth facilitator who had collated the issues kicked off the second part of the session. She listed the broad categories on a flip chart and explained how the various issues fit under each category. For example, many issues dealt with education and/or training so they were combined into the broad category of

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education. This facilitator worked with the women to come to agreement on the five most important broad categories and then helped them articulate statements for each of those categories.

I then asked the women what they wanted to do with these issues. Their first suggestion was to have them included in the new Constitution. One woman was a member of the NCC Constitutional Sub-Committee and agreed to present these issues to her colleagues on that committee. It was also agreed that the women from each party would brief their representative on that Sub-Committee so that all the Sub-Committee members would be informed when the presentation was made. They also agreed that these issues should be presented to their fellow delegates at the "All Party Conference" so that all the parties would have a chance to endorse this agenda. One woman was chosen as the spokesperson for this presentation.

When the issues were presented to the larger group of delegates, a lively discussion ensued. The spokesperson held her own as a public speaker and answered the questions quite well. The attached newspaper article captures most of that discussion. In the end all 7 political parties endorsed these issues.

This session highlights a number of main points. First, special efforts have to be made to ensure that women are included in political conferences, but as this example illustrates, this can be accomplished easily by simply requesting that parties consider sending women delegates. Second, the issues which affect women in Malawi today cut across party lines. Despite the difference in political affiliation, the women quickly came to agreement on these issues. My guess is that this is probably true in many countries around the world. Third, many women commented that they would not have been able to speak so freely if their male delegates had been present at the women's session. By giving them the freedom to identify these issues on their own, they then had the confidence to present these issues to the larger group. Fourth, it takes a number of facilitators to run this kind of session since it is crucial that the discussion remain focused and the information processed quickly.

The results of this session are that many parties came to the realization that it makes sense to address these issues since 52% of the population are women. They are now developing strategies to address these issues and some parties are actively recruiting women for party positions. Second, when these issues were presented to the NCC Constitutional Sub-Committee the presenter received a standing ovation. The new Constitution will be drafted next week and many of us will follow it to ensure that these issues are incorporated.